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A RADIO DISCUSSION OF

SCANDINAVIA ON THE SPOT

A. ARNESON · LOUIS GOTTSCHALK · CLIFTON UTLEY

21st BROADCAST IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY • 109

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ROUND TABLE

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NOTE

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SCANDINAVIA ON THE SPOT*

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST

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BEN ALBERT ARNESON, Professor of Political Science, Ohio Wesleyan University

LOUIS GOTTSCHALK, Professor of Modern History, University of Chicago

CLIFTON UTLEY, Director, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations

* A radio discussion broadcast from the University of Chicago over the Red etwork of the National Broadcasting Company, Sunday, April 14, 1940, at :30 P.M., Central Standard Time.

The ROUND TABLE, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is roadcast entirely without a script. Subjects are chosen because of their social, olitical, or economic significance. The program has no "ax to grind." In the lection of speakers, the effort is to provide a balanced discussion by partici-ants who have special competence and knowledge. The opinion of each speaker his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of hicago or the National Broadcasting Company.

SCANDINAVIA ON THE SPOT

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When the short-wave bands crackled with the word of Germany's lightning thrust into Denmark and Norway the University of Chicago canceled its scheduled ROUND TABLE *broadcast* to permit the discussion of this event which has had repercussions on all parts of the world.*

To consider the implications of the latest shift in the war locale the ROUND TABLE *brought to its microphone three experts familiar with the background of current events and of Scandinavian history in particular.*

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MR. UTLEY: I think we have all had an extra member in our family this past week. It's been the radio loud speaker blaring forth news bulletins and flashes about Scandinavia at hourly intervals.[1] Now perhaps the most constructive thing that the three of us can do today is to try to get behind those news bulletins to see, first, why Germany invaded Denmark and Norway, and what she hopes to get in that invasion.

MR. ARNESON: In the first place I'd like to say that this invasion was wholly unexpected. Had we looked in the newspapers a week ago today we would not have seen Bergen or Oslo or Norway mentioned except that Norway might have been mentioned as a possible country to declare war against Great Britain.

MR. UTLEY: That's true. It's certainly been a *blitz* operation on Germany's part, and yet it definitely was not spontaneous. It was planned in advance. Otherwise, it could not have been done so well. What are Germany's objectives?

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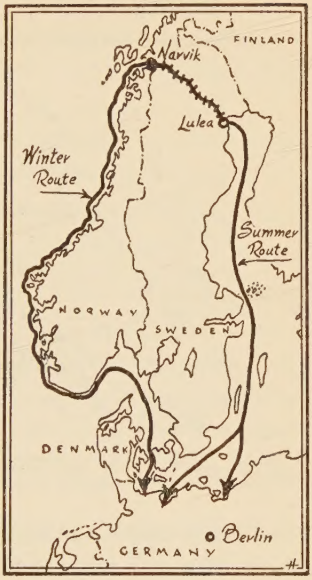
* *"Where's That War Boom?" has been rescheduled for April 28.*

[1] *The invasion of Danish territory began at 5:00 A.M. Tuesday, April 9, and landings were made at the various Norwegian ports at about the same time.*

MR. ARNESON: It will certainly be an advantage to Germany to be able to control the route along which the Swedish ore reaches her. We know that the Baltic is frozen over just now and will be, perhaps, until May. She wants to get the Swedish ore that is shipped across Norway to Narvik and brought by boat along the coast.[2]

ROUTES



MR. GOTTSCHALK: There seems to me to be one unexplained point in the attack upon Norway at this juncture. In a few weeks, if not already, the route from Lulea—the Swedish port—to Germany is going to be open. Why should the Germans have chosen this moment to attack when they would not actually need the free route from Narvik to Germany because they will have an open route between Lulea in Sweden—closer to the mines—and Germany? That route will be open for a few months.[3] Why should they have chosen now to attack?

MR. ARNESON: It is true that the easiest way to transport the Swedish ore is down through the Baltic, but I think there is some indication from recent events that Germany expects this war will not be over by the time the Baltic freezes over in October or November, or whenever that comes.

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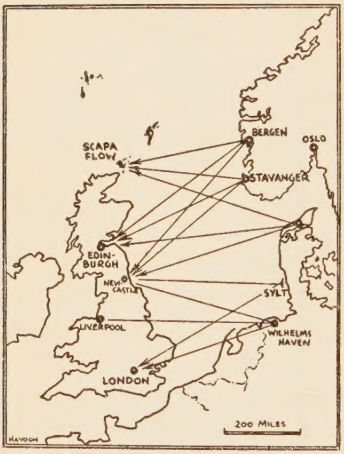
[2] *The pre-war mining of iron ore in Sweden amounted to some fifteen million tons annually, of which fourteen million tons were exported. Since the outbreak of the European war in September, 1939, it is possible that this figure has been substantially increased. Since iron ore mined in Norway amounted to about one million tons annually in pre-war years, the ore shipped from Narvik is largely of Swedish origin.*

[3] *See map.*

"THE BETTER TO BOMB . . . ."



MR. GOTTSCHALK: In other words, Lulea is open only for a very short part of the year and Narvik is a free port all the year round.

MR. UTLEY: Yet what puzzles me is this: Let's assume for the sake of the argument that Germany wins hands down in Norway. Even then the Narvik route is gone because now, with Norway definitely in the war, the British will never observe any territorial waters in Norway. With the British navy blocking it, Germany cannot hope to get ore from Narvik any more. You can hardly explain the invasion of Norway by saying that Germany by so doing gets iron ore routed around by the North Sea from the semi-Arctic port of Narvik better than she otherwise would. There must be other explanations. Don't you think quite a bit is related to the fact that, by getting southern Norway at least, Germany is able to obtain air bases to bomb England?[4]

MR. GOTTSCHALK: I think that is an important factor in addition to the question of Swedish ore. The towns of Trondheim and Bergen are very much closer to England—and particularly to the great English naval base, Scapa Flow—than any of the towns in Germany. In addition to that, there is a rather important point to bear in mind: that airplanes which are flown from the Western Hemisphere to England take the northern great circle, and that great circle passes closer to Bergen than it does to any German town. So, in addition to being able to attack England more easily from Bergen and Trondheim, those towns give to the Germans an

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[4] *See map.*

pportunity to attack imported airplanes being flown from the Western Hemisphere to England.

MR. ARNESON: That is one of the important factors, of course. Another is this matter of a base of attack on British shipping.

MR. UTLEY: How about food? The Germans need food worse than anything else, and they get much food from Norway.

MR. ARNESON: Not very much. They may get some for a little while, but, of course, Norway herself is an importer of food.[5]

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Does that hold true for Denmark, too?

MR. ARNESON: Denmark exports food. She exports butter, bacon, and eggs. But butter, bacon, and eggs do not grow on the soil, and they don't pick them from trees. In order to feed their hens (I suppose that is where they get eggs from in Denmark, as elsewhere), and stock, and pigs, they have to import raw food: linseed oil, and so on.[6]

MR. UTLEY: I had always thought that the Norwegians were a farming people more or less. If they are a farming people why do they import so much food?

MR. ARNESON: For one thing, Norway is agricultural; but you must remember that only three per cent of the entire acreage of Norway is arable.

MR. UTLEY: Only one acre out of every thirty-three can be cultivated?

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[5] *Norwegian imports, which exceed exports by about thirty per cent each year, are mainly foodstuffs, textiles, and machinery. Norway exports ore, metals, and pulp-paper.*

[6] *Eighty per cent of Denmark's exports are foods and food products. Over half of the total export goes to Great Britain (see pictograph, page [illegible]). Two-thirds of the total British bacon import, one-half the total egg import, and one-third the total butter import comes from Denmark. Germany ranks second in Danish exports.*

MR. ARNESON: That is all, and, of course, that means that three per cent of the Norwegian area is not as great as seventy-five per cent of the Danish area. There are fewer acres in cultivation in Norway per person, or per thousand persons, than there are in Denmark.[7]

MR. UTLEY: That explains why Germany won't get much food from Norway. Of course, even if there were food there she would have to sink the British navy in order to get the food home to Germany. But is there some point in taking Norway as a steppingstone to Sweden? If you are going to attack Sweden eventually, you ought to have Norway and all the Norwegian ports first in order to prevent the British landing parties from coming to the aid of Sweden through Norway.

MR. ARNESON: Of course we are on dangerous ground when we prophesy. I doubt whether anyone a week ago would have prophesied that we would be discussing this topic today, but I would venture the prophecy that one of the reasons why Germany is interested in getting control of Norway is that possibly the next step will be Sweden. She took Denmark as a very obvious steppingstone to taking Norway; in fact, she took both steps at the same time, in the same morning, and perhaps Norway will be used as the steppingstone for taking Sweden.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: I agree that Norway would make a very important base of attack on Sweden, but it seems to me there is another objective that we have overlooked, and that is that Norway has a very important merchant marine.

MR. ARNESON: Yes, that's true. Norway has the largest merchant marine in Scandinavia. Ten per cent of the adult males in Norway are working on the sea. Norway has the fourth largest merchant marine in the world.[8]

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[7] *The seventy-five per cent of land "under cultivation" in Denmark and the three per cent in Norway compares with nine per cent in Sweden and six or seven per cent in Finland.*

[8] *Norway has a merchant fleet of 4,300 vessels, Denmark 2,000 vessels, and Sweden 2,300 vessels. Only Great Britain, the United States, and*

MR. GOTTSCHALK: That sounds very extraordinary in view of the population of Norway—which is less than three million, is it not?[9]

MR. ARNESON: About the same population as Wisconsin, yet they have this large, important merchant marine.

MR. UTLEY: Of course, gentlemen, Germany isn't going to get that merchant marine because the larger part of any merchant marine is on the high seas at any given time.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Yes, but the German schedule for the attack upon Denmark and Norway was upset. If the schedule had not been upset by the laying of the mines by the British navy it is very possible that the Germans would have pulled their coup at the moment when a large number of Norwegian vessels were within reach of Germany.

MR. UTLEY: I disagree, because not any large part is going to be in port at any given time.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: But a goodly number might have come under Germany willingly.

MR. UTLEY: Okay!

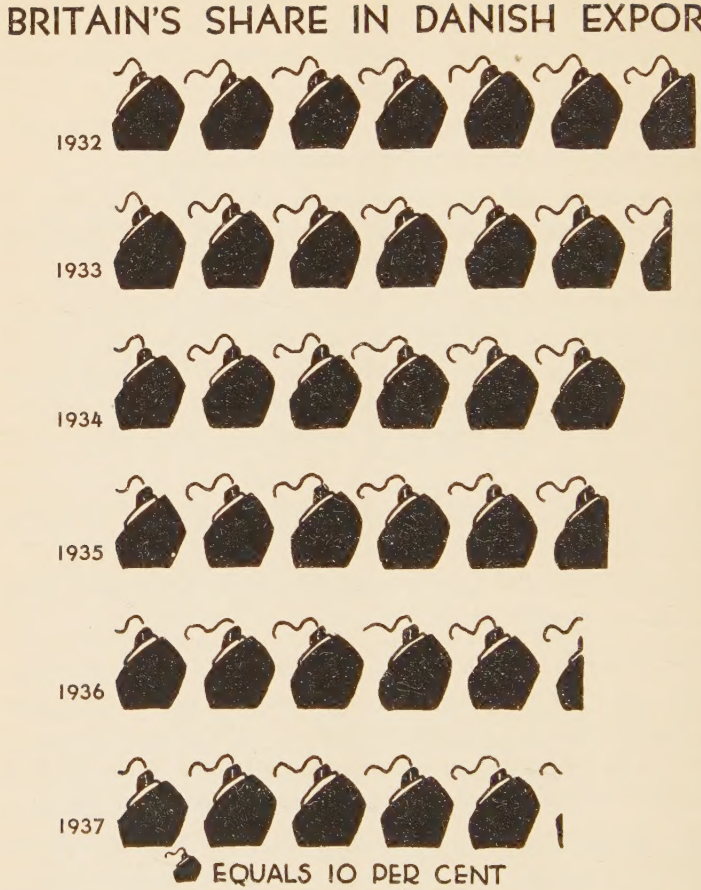
MR. ARNESON: I think, too, that we could bear in mind that even though the Germans will not control the Norwegian merchant marine, they will cripple it as far as its usefulness to the Allies is concerned. I think that might be a factor of some importance.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: It would prevent the English and the French from getting any advantage out of Norwegian carrying trade.

MR. ARNESON: Lessen the advantage at any rate; perhaps eliminate it altogether.

Germany (in that order) rank ahead of Norway in the size of their merchant fleets.

[9] *The population of Norway is 2,900,000; of Denmark, 3,722,000; of Sweden, 6,267,000.*



MR. UTLEY: I think we agree that so far as Norway is concerned, even if Germany gains some food, this campaign is an absolute flop. Where iron ore is concerned, it certainly does not make the Narvik route more secure, because even if the Germans win completely, the Narvik route is out. Bombing bases or air bases against England and control of the Norwegian ports to block British landing parties in the event that Germany next goes to Sweden, are very important.

With these exceptions, the entire Norwegian venture is not very important unless the Germans are going into Sweden next. Economically, the Norwegians are of little importance to Germany. But Denmark is entirely different. Denmark can really feed Germany—for a while.

MR. ARNESON: They have butter, bacon, eggs, and livestock which they have been shipping to Germany. Half the eggs that are imported to Germany come from Denmark—and the same for England for that matter. But, as I said a while ago, the Danish farmers have to import some of the raw foodstuffs. For a little while Denmark will add materially to the German larder, but in the long run the resources will be exhausted and the first thing you know the Germans will have some Danes on their hands to feed.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Isn't it true that the city of Copenhagen with a million population has somewhat more than one-fourth of the population of Denmark? You have a problem of feeding a large urban population with a relatively small rural population.[10]

MR. ARNESON: That is true. That is about the proportion.

MR. UTLEY: I think you are doubtless correct in your assumption, Arneson, that in the long run Denmark won't help Germany very much; but the Nazis may very well say that in the long run we are all dead, and in the short run we may as well make Denmark a swell one-time looting proposition. Like the kid that goes looting the icebox, if he raids long enough and hard enough he finds the food all gone.

But I saw many interesting figures this morning. The Danes have nearly thirty million chickens—and roosters. The Danes have about three million cattle; about three million pigs; and over a half million horses.[11] If the Germans took all this it would mean about one chick-

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[10] *Denmark ranks first among Scandinavian countries in the proportion of land under cultivation. Despite this fact, fifty per cent of Denmark's population lives in cities. Norway's urban population totals thirty per cent; Sweden's urban population totals thirty-five per cent.*

[11] *The figures for July, 1938, were: 564,000 horses, 3,183,000 head of cattle, 2,845,000 swine, and about 27,600,000 hens.*

en to every three Germans; it would mean one cow to every thirty Germans; it would mean an awful lot of food. And furthermore, the Danes have been sending fifty per cent of their exports to Great Britain. What has gone to Britain before can go to Germany now.

MR. ARNESON: I think that if the Germans feel this is going to be a long war they may not milk Denmark dry as fast as that. But, of course, if they make this icebox attack which you speak of, it will mean that before very long the Germans will either have to feed the Danes or the Danes will starve. It will probably mean that the Danes will starve.

MR. UTLEY: Yes, but from the German point of view there will be a lot of advantage in just milking the Danes dry. At the present time it would be rather attractive, from the German point of view at least, to have one-third of a chicken in every pot and two men in every house. That would not be quite as good as Mr. Hoover was going to give us, but it would be quite a point.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Your point being, I take it, that after the Germans have looted Denmark they will then leave the country to shift for itself—probably to starve.

MR. UTLEY: Then they will loot somebody else. This war of looting is a progressive proposition. Maybe they will go to the Balkans or some place else. Norway can't give food. She can give strategic advantages. Denmark can give food; and Sweden—we have all agreed that Sweden is very likely to be the next victim—what can Sweden give?

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Sweden can give ore and that is the most important thing the Germans are looking for, I think, in the Scandinavian invasion. The ore is very important to Germany for the simple reason that it is very difficult for Germany to import ore from the countries to which she would look in peacetime—particularly France. This Swedish ore, which is significant in the manufacture of munitions, is perhaps the explanation of the German invasion.

MR. ARNESON: Of course, we are leaving Russia out of this

ogether. You must remember that for a long time Russia and rmany have been eying the Scandinavian countries and the andinavian countries always felt they were safe from Russia be-use Germany would keep Russia out, and vice versa. But now ey are in a pretty bad spot because of this Russo-German pact. think that probably Russia would not remain very quiet if Ger-any should try to take Sweden. That is a fact we should remem-r. Perhaps Germany's interest in taking Sweden is to get there ead of Russia.

MR. UTLEY: The British blockade of German exports has cer-inly curtailed drastically the supply of foreign exchange in terms means of international payment—foreign monies, that is. Now long as Germany has to get ten million tons of iron ore from Swed-for war purposes annually—as long as she has got to buy that ore om a free Sweden she's got to pay for it in foreign exchange. But, she could lick the Swedes and make them a vassal state, like the oles or the Czechs, she could then pay the Swedes for the iron ore—ell, you know, in that cigar-coupon kind of money . . . . the kind ey pass around in Germany.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Or not pay for it at all.

MR. UTLEY: It amounts to the same thing.

MR. ARNESON: I think that is a very good point, Utley, for it rtainly would be an advantage to the German dictatorship to ave some ore within its own jurisdiction.

MR. UTLEY: If Germany can lick the Swedes and take the candinavian Peninsula she can get iron ore without paying in for-gn exchange. But could she get as much? Would the Swedes work hard for the Germans as for themselves, or would they be sullen? ould there be a breakdown of production in those ore fields?

MR. ARNESON: That is pretty hard to say. Of course, we now that never in written history has the Scandinavian Peninsula een invaded or been dominated by any foreign power. Some time as to be the first time to be sure, but I imagine the Swedes and the est of the Scandinavians won't take very kindly to it.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: You feel that the Swedish population is a strongly national population? I don't mean that there is a strong Scandinavian nationalism, but there is a strong Swedish-Norwegian-Danish nationalism, and that will create a problem?

MR. ARNESON: Very strong indeed, and, of course, those of you who know more about history than I do realize that the Swedes have never been a very belligerent people. We hear daily about the fact that no Swedish soldier has ever fired a gun at any foreigner for 125 years. That is true.[12]

MR. UTLEY: He didn't have to.

MR. ARNESON: But throughout the history of the world Sweden has not been a pacifist country. They have been vigorous fighters and I think a good deal of trouble would come to any country who would try to keep those Vikings down.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Of course, we are accustomed to thinking in terms of what the Germans did to the Poles and what the Russians did to the Finns. Consequently, we have somewhat of a defeatist attitude with regard to what the Germans and the Russians may do. But it seems to me we've got another situation here. The Poles are rather used to being invaded. They've got the habit after four or five invasions in a period of 150 years. And the Finns were long under Russian rule.[13]

MR. UTLEY: I don't want to say anything against the people from whom you are descended, Arneson—the Scandinavians—yet

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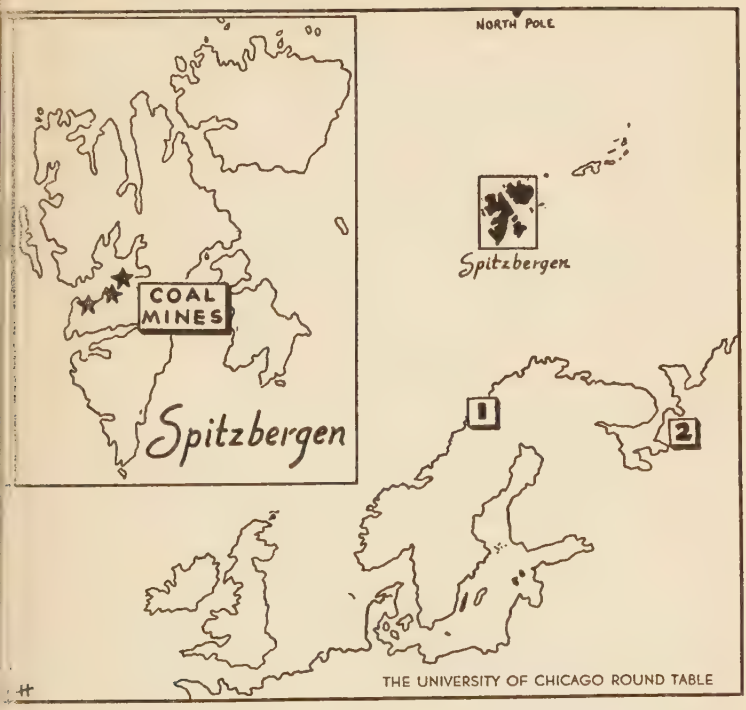
[12] *That is, since the Napoleonic wars. The last war in which any Scandinavian state was involved was the German-Danish conflict in 1864 as a result of which the Schleswig-Holstein area passed to German control.*

[13] *Poland was independent until the partitions of 1772, 1793, and 1795. It again achieved independence after the World War. Efforts to gain independence during the intervening period were repressed. Finland was attached to Russia in 1809 and, like Poland, became independent after the World War.*

NORWAY'S FORGOTTEN COLONY



Far to the north, halfway between Norway and the North Pole, lies Spitzbergen, principal source of coal for two of the greatest Arctic ports: Narvik (1) and Archangel (2).

From Spitzbergen each year, to stoke the engines of the strategic Narvik to Lulea railroad, goes eighty per cent of the total production of more than 780,000 tons of coal. Most of the remainder is carried by Russian colliers to the White Sea port of Archangel, known principally for its sawmills, and as a trading and coaling port for English and Norwegian Arctic steamers.

Spitzbergen's coal mines, largely owned by Norwegian enterprisers, are not fully developed. If Norway falls, to whom will these rich coal deposits go?—Ed.

it seems to me that you can push this point about the Scandinavian countries never having been conquered much too far. I recall some years ago there was a bond house here in Chicago, with a big sign on Michigan Avenue which read: "Not a cent lost to any investor in 72 years" or something like that. You may happen to recall a few years ago there was a slogan heard on LaSalle Street: "But, oh boy, that 73d year!"

MR. ARNESON: It is true, however, that that bond house with a good record for seventy-two years probably would be able to do better than some gambling joint that had been skinning the people for seventy-two years.

MR. UTLEY: It doesn't happen to exist at the present time, but that's no matter.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: On the negative side of this lineup we've got to take into consideration, I think, the fact that the Norwegians and Swedes and Danes are more likely to defend themselves, or rise up against an oppressor than would, perhaps, some of the other countries that have been in the news in recent years.

MR. UTLEY: Norway has been doing a pretty good job of it after a slow start. The basic fact remains, however, that the Norwegians—and I think the Swedes, too—are under a more or less socialist government that believes in disarmament.[14] Why, it was only six months ago at the outside—wasn't it?—that the Norwegian Foreign Minister first ventilated the idea that they perhaps would have to give up their complete pacifism.

MR. ARNESON: Perhaps about a year ago. I had a long conference some time ago with Halvdan Koht, the Foreign Minister—who, by the way, is professor of history at the University of Oslo. At that time he was very much to the left, of course. Now he is the

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[14] *All three Scandinavian governments are limited, constitutional monarchies with a democratic form of parliamentary government. In all three the present governments are headed by Social-Democrats (known as the Labor party in Norway).*

Foreign Minister under the socialist government, but you must remember that the Scandinavian countries have three cardinal principles in connection with foreign policy: neutrality, disarmament, arbitration. I hope I am not showing my bias because my parents happened to come from one of these Scandinavian countries, but it seems to me that these three Scandinavian countries have been ahead of the rest of the world and that those three cardinal principles have been pretty well followed.[15]

MR. UTLEY: Sure! That's my objection to the whole thing. I think they have been too far ahead. I read just a couple of weeks ago that the Norwegians were at last starting to buy a certain amount of airplanes in this country. Now, in the *New Yorker*, that belongs in the "About Time Department"!

MR. GOTTSCHALK: It is important to remember that the Scandinavian countries have depended to a large extent upon the French and the English. The fact that they knew the French and the English could be called upon seems to me to be the decisive factor in this situation.

MR. UTLEY: We'll agree that the Norwegians and Swedes are a very brave people; they are a very efficient people; they will do the best they can possibly do within the limits of the very restricted defense forces they have. But, as Gottschalk so well points out, what they will do ultimately will depend upon what Britain and France happen to do. They can only hold the line above for a brief period.

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[15] *Denmark has followed the most complete disarmament policy of any of the Scandinavian states, but none of them maintains a very large military, naval, or air establishment. Regular army troops and conscripts under training number, at any one time, some 10,000 in Denmark, 15,000 in Norway, and 35,000 in Sweden; naval forces are generally limited to coastal defense vessels and patrol boats, though Norway has several old cruisers and Sweden maintains three medium cruisers (7,000 tons) and 7 light cruisers (3,500–4,500 tons), plus 14 or 15 destroyers and a similar number of submarines. Denmark and Norway also maintain small submarine fleets. The air force of Denmark numbers some 65 planes, Norway perhaps 100, and Sweden 340.*

MR. ARNESON: There is one thing which has affected the whole foreign policy of Scandinavia. It came as a surprise to them and as a surprise to most people; namely, the Russo-German pact last August. It just knocked the pins from under the whole Scandinavian international policy because they felt that Russia would "take care of" Germany and that Germany would "take care of" Russia. Now with those people working together they find, in order to be neutral, perhaps they have to arm. The very day after Hitler marched into Austria—that is quite a while ago—the Swedish Parliament increased their arms appropriation.[16]

MR. GOTTSCHALK: I agree that the Russo-Finnish situation upset the apple cart in Scandinavia as it did in other places. But it still seems to me that the strategic point to be made in this situation is that the English and the French can get to Norway. They could not get to Finland or to Poland.

MR. UTLEY: And why do you suppose the British and French are fighting so well—as they apparently are—when they didn't do a darn thing on the occasion of the Finnish campaign?

MR. GOTTSCHALK: How could the British have gotten to Finland? They had to sail through or fly over the Baltic Sea. It is a pretty long stretch for airplanes and transport ships and battleships would have had a great deal of difficulty getting by the German blockade.

MR. UTLEY: They could have gone right through Scandinavia. It wouldn't have been lovely but it might have worked.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: If the Scandinavian countries had been willing to permit them. Of course, their insistence upon neutrality made that very difficult for the British and the French.

MR. UTLEY: Yes. It seems to me you have another factor there, and that is that the war was earlier, was younger, at that time. The British could lose in Finland, if they did lose, and still not have lost a war that would be decisive against them. I think

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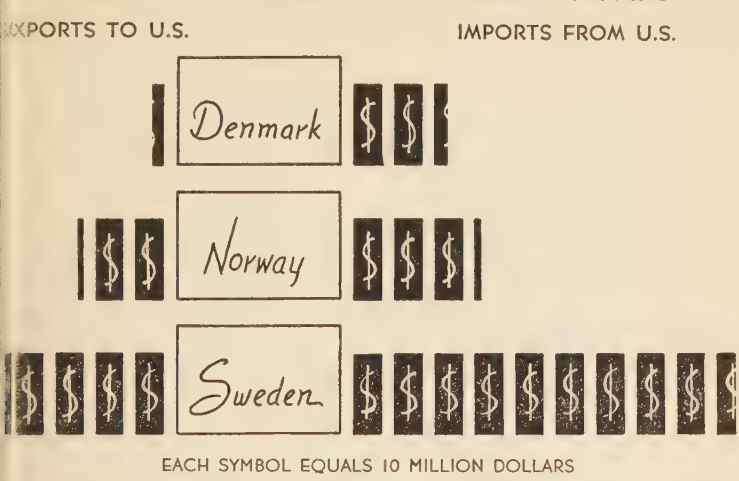
[16] *In March, 1938.*



ey are convinced that if they lose in Norway and in Sweden that would be very disastrous to them from the viewpoint of morale.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: The British and the French had to take to account American public opinion. Don't you think American ublic opinion has been somewhat affected, Arneson, by recent vents in Scandinavia?

MR. ARNESON: Somewhat, and yet there is the opinion exressed by a certain United States Senator a while ago: He felt the vasion of Scandinavia simply illustrated that there were two gangers over in Europe who wanted to fight the thing out on somebody se's land.

MR. UTLEY: You mentioned our position just a second ago. I ink the position of American public opinion is very important. I ink very important, too, is the fact that we have about one hunred and four million dollars invested in Norway; we've got about hundred million dollars invested in Denmark; we haven't got uch in Sweden, but we've got some.[17]

[17] *Twenty-six million dollars.*

MR. GOTTSCHALK: On top of our investments there is also the trade we have with the Scandinavian countries. Our shipments to the Scandinavian countries in 1939 were one hundred fifty million dollars, whereas our imports from the Scandinavian countries were only about half that. In other words, we have a very favorable trade balance with all three of the Scandinavian countries, particularly with Sweden.[18]

MR. UTLEY: And a point not to be overlooked is that the Swedes and Norwegians and the Danes pay their bills on time, which is important in foreign trade. Of course, there is the very vital and important problem of Greenland which I would like to discuss here with you. You remember three weeks ago we had a University of Chicago ROUND TABLE on national defense.[19] Let's discuss it again with the members of that ROUND TABLE. We sent them telegrams today asking for their views on the Greenland situation; what do they think should be done about Greenland from the point of view of American national defense? First, we have this statement from Major George Fielding Eliot, an expert on military affairs. He says:

Greenland is part of the Western Hemisphere. Its present situation affords the United States an excellent opportunity of making clear to the world that we will neitherpermit the conquest nor transfer to another non-American power of any European colonial possession in this hemisphere, nor the establishment therein of any new military, naval, or air bases.

Not only is such an example badly needed for clarifying American policy in foreign minds but also in order to focus and crystallize our own public opinion in support of this policy against a day when it may face a more formidable challenge than the Greenland case seems to present. There should be no doubt and no hesitation about our policy in such matters or our determination to back it by force if need be.

MR. UTLEY: If I recall that ROUND TABLE correctly, Major George Fielding Eliot and Colonel Knox tangled rather seriously a

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[18] *See pictograph, page 17.*

[19] *"Can We Protect America?" broadcast March 24, 1940.*

ple of times with Maynard Krueger, their third colleague, of the versity of Chicago faculty and now vice-presidential nominee of Socialist party. Maynard Krueger says:

The importance of the Greenland question is being greatly exagger-d. There can be no objection to the Red Cross feeding anybody who ds feeding, but the question is: how soon will the Red Cross be fol-ed by the gunboats.

One serious danger is that the Greenland episode may be used to the fires of hysteria for a fatal armaments expansion program in country, and the other danger is that it may serve as another dis-tion from the basic internal question of unemployment.

Under no circumstances should the United States take any action h regard to Greenland which is not acceptable to the progressive gov-ment of Iceland.

MR. UTLEY: I don't imagine that Colonel Frank Knox—pub-er of the *Chicago Daily News* and also one-time vice-presidential minee of the Republican (not Socialist) party—would agree with . Krueger. Let's see what Colonel Knox says.

The seizure of Denmark by Germany precipitates a situation with bect to Greenland that is critically important to the United States. graphically Greenland is a part of the Western Hemisphere. It is ntolerable to permit German military and political control of Green-d as it would be if the Danish West Indies still were a part of Den-rk. Greenland falls within the purview of the Monroe Doctrine just as ch as did the Virgin Islands which we acquired from Denmark by chase a number of years ago.

In my judgment the American government should take immediate s to enforce the Monroe Doctrine with respect to Greenland. One to do this would be to cooperate in its temporary absorption by nada or Newfoundland. Either of these alternatives would observe spirit and letter of the Monroe Doctrine. The remaining alternative ld be for the United States to assume sovereignty over Greenland and etain it until the termination of the war and the clarification of Den-rk's position as an independent power.

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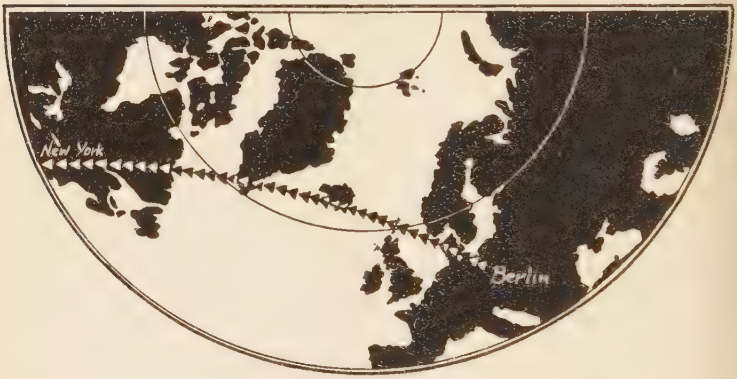
THE GREAT CIRCLE ROUTE



MR. UTLEY: Let's take a quick poll and see how we three agree with the experts of three weeks ago. I agree completely with Colonel Knox and George Fielding Eliot and disagree with Krueger. How about you, Gottschalk?

MR. GOTTSCHLAK: Without agreeing entirely with Colonel Knox or Major Eliot, I disagree decidedly with Krueger's view, if I may use the paradox.

MR. UTLEY: How about you, Arneson?

MR. ARNESON: I object to confusing socialism and isolationism. Quite a number of isolationists are not socialists. I could not agree entirely with Knox and Eliot except that I think that Knox made a good point when he suggested we might encourage the absorption of Greenland by our neighbor, Canada.

MR. UTLEY: We agree four to two, or five to one, that we ought to more or less take over Greenland. We'll all agree that Greenland—on a direct airline from New York to Berlin (which

st people don't know) and varying points in Greenland being 450 700 miles from the American coast—is vital.[20]

---

[20] *Of Greenland's population of 16,500, about 400 are Danish administrative officers and schoolteachers. Above the 83d parallel Greenland is within 25 miles of Ellesmere Island, part of Canada. At the Arctic circle the distance across the Davis Strait between the settlement of Holstensborg, Greenland, and Baffin Island, in the Canadian Provincial District of Keewatin, is some 200 miles. Air distances between the southern settlements (Godthaab, Lichtenfels, Julianehaap, and Frederikshaab) of Greenland and the Labrador coast range between 450 and 700 miles.*

OBJECTIVE QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION

The answers to the following questions may be found in the text of the broadcast, and page references are provided to assist in locating the answers.

*

1. When did Germany invade Denmark and Norway? Page 2.
2. What important Norwegian city is known as a port for shipments of iron ore? Page 3.
3. Why is this iron ore not shipped from the country (Sweden) in which it is mined? Pages 3–4.
4. What special reason is suggested for the seizure of the Norwegian ports of Bergen and Trondheim? Page 4.
5. How do Norway and Denmark compare as possible food supply stations for Germany? Page 5.
6. How large is the Norwegian merchant fleet? And how does it compare with the merchant marine of other nations? Page 6.
7. Give some of the figures for Danish agriculture which make Denmark seem a good "one-time looting proposition." Page 9.
8. Approximately how much iron ore must Germany import from Sweden annually? Page 11.
9. What are the three cardinal principles of the Scandinavian nations in foreign policy? Page 15.
10. What geographical barriers hampered British aid to Finland during the Russo-Finnish war? Page 16.
11. What is the extent of American capital investment in Scandinavia? Page 17.
12. Approximately how much trade does the United States carry on with the three Scandinavian countries each year? Page 17.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The following questions of wider scope, intended for discussion, are suggested by the broadcast, and answers may be found in the literature on the subject listed in the section "Suggested Readings," found on pages 24–25.

*

Summarize and analyze the aims of the German invasion of Denmark and Norway. Do you think these reasons (officially or otherwise stated) justified this invasion? Do you believe the Germans will benefit from the invasion, or do you think that in the long run the disadvantages will outweigh the advantages? Discuss.

Summarize the attitudes of Colonel Knox, Major Eliot, and Professor Krueger toward the Greenland situation. Which of these statements comes closest to your own position on this question? Why?

If you were to determine American policy in this matter, what would you do—and why?

a) Nothing.

b) Seize Greenland temporarily, returning it after the war if Denmark were at that time a free, independent nation.

c) Urge the Canadians to seize it.

d) Attempt to capture the island after a foreign power, presumably Germany, has seized it.

e) Encourage Greenland to declare its independence (as Iceland has done) and assure it of protection against invasion.

If Germany's real aim is the conquest of Sweden, demonstrate how the seizure of Denmark was a necessary step in the attack upon Norway, and how the invasion of Norway would, in its turn, be a necessary step in the invasion of Sweden.

Why do you think England is now resisting Germany in Norway, although the British took no action in the Russo-Finnish conflict?

SUGGESTED READINGS

ARNESON, BEN ALBERT, *The Democratic Monarchies of Scandinavia.* New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1939. *A brief but most comprehensive volume surveying the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish governments, their backgrounds and their problems, domestic and foreign.*

BRAATOY, BJARNE, *The New Sweden.* New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1939. *A general study of the largest of the Scandinavian states, with particular attention to economic controls.*

"Iron Ore Flows at Narvik Port," *Life*, April 15, 1940. *Photographs and map giving background of iron ore leakage through the Allied blockade.*

JOESTEN, JOACHIM, *Rats in the Larder.* New York: Putnam's Sons, 1939. *An authoritive discussion of Denmark's loss of authority in its economic and political activity which predicted more than a year ago events which transpired this month.*

———, "The Scramble for Swedish Iron Ore," *Foreign Affairs*, January, 1938. *A pre-war article summarizing the background of a conflict highly intensified since September of last year and one of the underlying causes of the German invasion of Denmark and Sweden.*

LASSEN, TYGE, "The State of Denmark," *Fortnightly Review*, June, 1939. *A Dane writes on the historical background of present-day Danish problems with some attention to relations with the Third Reich.*

OLBERG, PAUL, "Scandinavia and the Nazis," *Contemporary Review*, July, 1939. *The technique of Nazi penetration in Scandinavia, particularly in Denmark, and the extent and character of these penetrations, with comment on future German-Scandinavian relations.*

SON, ALMA L., *Scandinavia: The Background for Neutrality.* New York: Lippincott, 1940. *A recent contribution to the discussion of Scandinavia's role in the present war.*

ATT, ADMIRAL WILLIAM V., U.S.N., Retired, "Scandinavia: the Showdown Is Near," *Newsweek*, March 4, 1940. *A prediction of the present struggle in the North and some of the causes underlying it.*

andinavia's Efforts for Peace," *Contemporary Review*, December, 1939. *Norway, Sweden, and Denmark and life in them under wartime conditions, with some attention to the Russo-Finnish war and its meaning for the continued neutrality of the Scandinavian countries.*

andinavia's Role in Europe's Economic War," *Business Week*, December 30, 1939. *The resources of the Northern states and their part in the present war briefly stated.*

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The Listeners' Round Table . . . .

Letters to the ROUND TABLE *frequently contain sidelights on the subjec matter discussed on the air. These comments are from letters receive following the broadcast April 7, "The Archbishops Look at America."*

*

Wow!

It has often been our pleasure to listen in on the Sunday ROUND TABLE —but being by nature neither assertive nor controversial, we have never before written in. But today, Wow! What a show you did put on!

A fight is always interesting, but let it be fair. Today you gave us a serene historian and a gentleman, a vigorous and scholarly political scientist, an impetuous and illogical Romance language teacher, who never kept to the point, and took an unfair share of the allotted time.

We could hardly learn what the Bishops' letter was about, because Borgese wanted to display his distrust and hatred of the Catholic Church. Kerwin's statements started out clear and convincing, but were always interrupted by Borgese. Heaton was splendid in trying to steer the argument away from Borgese's prejudices back to Kerwin's exposition, but he didn't have much luck.

D., Illinois

*

13th Century

What a grand period of Christian civilization this would become if the nations would return to the Christian philosophy and international justic of the 13th century, a period markin the high-water mark in Christia social progress. During that perio the nations were leagued togethe under the scepter of an internationa law which recognized the Vicar o Christ as the final court of appeal.

J. L., Montana

*

Forget Hatred

Because a particular religion ha offered an unbiased plan to solve th chaotic conditions of today is no sig they wish to have a monopoly on th reform.

No system will work on either sid unless we can forget personal hatred and work for a common brotherhood which seems to be the world's theme song.

J. L., Illinois

*

More

The broadcast was one of the most interesting I have listened to so far. Two persons of opposite viewpoints and a moderator. I would like to hea the same cast discuss any othe polemical issues.

J. K., Michigan

ascist

Today's ROUND TABLE discussion s one of the few which in my inion and the opinion of my friends s worth listening to. Another good e which I recall was that on the ropean news several weeks ago. I inclined to suspect that the merit both of these lay in the participa- n of Professor Borgese, whose lliant, incisive thinking cut like day- ht through the fog of equivocation d cautious fence-straddling.

Your Catholic apologist seemed to ke a rather shabby figure in his at- npts to whitewash the implicit scism in the recent plan of the nerican bishops. The weakness in his sition lay in his efforts to deny the vious fascist intent of the bishops. would have been safer for him to knowledge that the kind of people o listen to the ROUND TABLE can ognize fascism when they see it, l then make the best of a bad job l attempt to show that the plan of bishops, fascist though it is, might haps be a good thing for the coun- . That would at least be honest.

E. F., Florida

*

licy and the Church

Through a backward glance at his- y the student is impressed by the fering periods of Church activity l inactivity in matters of politics. ese changes in policy and outlook bably are the result of social and nomic pressure. The Church has en denounced for aloofness and meddling at the same time. The latter accusation is currently popular.

The fear of Church "meddling" probably owes its origin to periods when members of its organization were not as incorruptible as might be desired. However, today when the organization has been developed to a high state of efficiency, there is little to be feared when honorable wearers of the collar attempt to influence people's thinking and voting. Some clergymen have recently taken advantage of the tolerance with which the public looks upon Church influence in politics. In general, however, it is probably desirable that well-informed clergymen attempt to lead their followers, being, by the nature of their profession, better informed than the members of their congregations.

I feel that the Church has been rather lax in promoting social legislation of a desirable kind. This lack of activity is due, probably, to a confusion of social aims existing in the minds of the high clergy.

In preparing this letter I read the Encyclical Letter of Pius XI in which he denounces co-education as detrimental to the best interests of education. Noting the abundance of Catholic co-educational institutions, I am led to wonder at the lack of policy determination and the carrying out of these policies by the lower clergy. In other words, the Church appears reluctant to act on matters of policy, especially as regards social and economic problems, for the simple reason that no unanimity of aims exists in the minds of those intrusted with policy-making.

In conclusion, I wish to indicate that I have no religious preferences or prejudices. Due to the fact that I am a graduate of Marquette University, a Catholic institution, some bias may have crept into my analysis. To avoid this bias I have leaned backwards to gain some degree of objective thinking.

J. W., Michigan

*

And the Law

There was a general agreement among those who took part in the debate last night supporting the declaration in favor of the right of private property. However, the underlying concept of private property, both in the discussion last evening in the declaration of the Bishops and in the encyclical, from which that declaration is derived, is the concept of private property that was current prior to 1900, and which now survives primarily in relation to the rights of home-owners and their residences as against the community.

Actually since 1900 the concept of property has bifurcated so that property used for industrial purposes is now in a state of transition, tending to be resolved into a transferable right of user subject to increasing regulation and restriction by the state. The general statement of the right of property as of the date of the various Bills of Right is not now relevant, as the institution of property is being adjusted to the requirements of a highly industrialized civilization.

It is curious that the nostalgia for a guild system is expressed with complete disregard of the fact that at the period of widest expansion of guilds, the concept of property, particularly with reference to real property, was much more primitive than that current at the dates of the Bills of Right.

The Bills of Right, as I find them in our American public documents, were very generally influenced by the concepts of the Age of Enlightenment, which, if anything, were highly anticlerical.

I would suggest that, at the time of the guild system, the only property to which the idea of absolute ownership attached was chattel property, excluding real estate, and was long prior to the concept of intangible property, which now makes up the major part of wealth, as I understand it. The general declaration of the Bishops is alien to our political thought and anachronistic in relation to our general economic concepts. It is admirable because of its insistence on the dignity of man as an individual.

R. A. B., Ohio

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103. *Economic Issue and 1940*
104. *Is America's Economic Frontier Closed?*
105. *Must the World Unite?*
106. *Can We Protect America?*
107. *The Census*
108. *The Archbishops Look at America.* April 7

Third Term?

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HAROLD L. ICKES

Secretary of the Interior

GENERAL HUGH JOHNSON

Columnist; former Administrator, NRA

WILLIAM H. SPENCER

Dean, School of Business, University of Chicago

•

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WILLIAMS, G. C., and LATHAM, F. B., "Third Term for Roosevelt?" *Scholastic*, January 8, 1940.

LYONS, EUGENE, "Beware the Third Termites," *American Mercury*, August, 1939.

"Should Roosevelt Run for a Third Term?" a symposium, *Current History*, September, 1939.

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